of the members of a college, at the time they enter, have previously received only the training of ordinary lamas, which consists of learning to read and write more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime.

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules.

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive learning, in order to provide for the education of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after months and months the exercises always have to be repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

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his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur. 792 875

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months. 792 871 484

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning. [875]

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality. 792 156

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom. 792 875

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